Some Features of Medieval Berber in an Ancient Manuscript (*Kitâb al-Barbarîya*)

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The so-called "*Mudawwana* of Abû Ghânim Bišr b. Ghânim al-Khurâsânî"
(translation/commentary : *Kitâb al-Barbarîya*)
Author: Abû Zakarîya' al-Ifrânî (date unknown)
Glossary : Mas'ûd b. Ṣâliḥ al-Ṣamumni, sheikh of Djerba (16th century).

1- Phonetics: *begadkefat*

Regular alternance of plosives and sibilants according to the principles of *begadkefat* (like in nowadays Djerbian language)
f. 123b, l. 14 (= 290a, l. 19-20) *as yellef i lεurt-is, tenwa lεureṯ* "when he repudiated his wife, the wife said..."

اس يلّف

اي لعورتيس تنوا لعورث

2 -State of nouns

iser "prophete", annexed state: *wiser*
f. 30a, l. 8 : *s wiḏammen* "with blood" ; f. 40b, l. 2 : *am wiḏammen* "like blood".

3- Verbs with *-t/ø* ending

MT "die":
f. 120a, l. 2: *mman* "they died"
f. 46(1)b, l. 18: en *unemmitu* "(of) the/a dead"

KSW/YSW / YST/KST
f. 305a, l. 10: *ttemyeseṯen* = yatawârit̲h̲ûna "they bequeath to each other"
f. 113b, l. 8 ; f. 388b, l. 12 : *a tt-yekseṯ* = yariṯu-hâ ("he will inherit from her")
f. 388b, l. 8: wel ğar-asen *tiysawin* = lâ mîrât̲h̲ baynahumâ ("no inheritance between them")
f. 305a, l. 10-11: *tiseḏnan wel tekseṯneṯ mawlan* "women don't bequeath to clients"
Bossoutrot *amkasu*, pl. *imkusa* "heir" (20, 21)
[cp. touareg *ḳusət* [WY] "inherit", *tăḳasit* "inheritance"]

YNT
yuynuṯ “il est arrivé, il a eu lieu” (Bossoutrot 286) || *uynuṯ* “l’apparition, la naissance d’une chose” (56) || *yunnen* “neuf”; “solide, fort, robuste” (274)
f. 112a, l. 5 ; 121a, l. 14 ; f. 122b, l. 4 ; f. 127a, l. 2 : *yunen* (yunan) = ğadîd
f. 25a, l. 13 : netta ɣel d-*yuynuṯ wuynuṯ* i tẓalliṯ = kharağa min-hu rîḥ wa huwa fî 'l-ṣalât (euphémisme) ;
f. 25a, l. 16 : wuḏi ɣel d-*yuynuṯ* = kharağa min-hu 'l-rîḥ ;
[Cp. touar. *inay*, F. II 701 “be new” and Kabyle: *amaynut* **“**nouveau, insolite” (“*yusa d lexbaṛ d amaynut* la nouvelle est arrivée insolite” (*Si Moh.* 157) *aɛnu abrid aneṣli / win ur nelli d amaynut* “rejoins l’antique tradition: défie-toi des chemins nouveaux” (J. Amr. 242))]

ĞY/ĞT
f. 323b, l. 20 : *eğğin* = kaṯîr (“they are many”, 3mpl. ?)
f. 299b, l. 8-9 : ewla t_*teğğeṯay* (’tğaṯy) ewla t_teḏrusay = kaṯîr^{an} ’aw qalîl^{an}
[cp. Jerba *eggeṯ* “many”]

FYN/FĞN
f. 288a, l. 9 : ğ_ğ*fuynu* = fî al-riqq wa al-‘ubûdiyya ; f. 290a, l. 17 et 123b, l. 11 : *ifuynu* = al-‘ubûdiyya (290a, l. 17) / al-riqq (123b, l. 11) ; f. 305b, l. 6 : ğ_ğ*fuğnu* (’Ğfuğ°nu) = fî al-riqq / ‘ubûdiyya “slavery”
f. 7a, l. 21 : d lɛibadeṯ n wayt *fuğnuten* = al-‘âbidîn (“pious”, pl. ann.)
f. 8b, l. 6 et f. 9a, l. 14 : d afuyneṯ [= t‘bd’] i ta-yesfuyneṯ [= t‘bdh] (*ta‘bîdan ta‘abbada-hu* ? = it's to slavery that he was enslaved?)

4- Verb “say”/“tell”

All the glosses of the forms with *nw* show a correspondence with Arabic perfect: f. 116b, l. 10: *tenwa-yas = qâlat la-hu* ; f. 310a, l. 12 and f. 360a, l. 2: *yenwa-yas = qâl la-hu*
In a case of repetition in Arabic of a Berber sentence (f. 301a), we find:
yenwa Abû al-Mu’arriğ (l. 15: Berber)/ *qâla* Abû al-Mu’arriğ (l. 22: Arabic)

On the contrary: f. 4a, l. 6: *nnan = yaqûlûna*

nnan iseryinen “the Arabs say” precedes the quotation of an Arabic saying / *yenwa useryin* “an Arab said” precedes the quotation of an Arabic author

aorist:
f. 36b l. 14: *ewc-aneɣ-d w’ al’ aɣen-yemel lexṣayel n uykuzen* “provide us with someone to tell us the virtues of Islam”

5- Syntax of numerals

Galand (1967) “IA group”: lack of preposition in numerals up to ten, and counted object in the singular from eleven onwards.

In one and the same page of the manuscript (42b), several different constructions are observed:

Numeral + plural noun in annexed state (if applicable)
- masculine numeral and noun *careḍ wussan* “3 days” (l. 2-3); *uqqez wussan* “4 days” (l. 3)
- feminine numeral and noun
  uqqezeṯ errekεaṯ “4 bowings” (l. 19); *sent errekεaṯ* “2 bowings” (l. 13 and 14)
- masculine numeral and feminine noun
  uqqez errekεaṯ “4 bowings” (l. 10)

Numeral + preposition *n* + noun in plural
mraw en yiḍan “10 nights” (l. 21-22)

Numeral + preposition *n* + noun in singular over 10
xamsṭac en yum “15 days” (l. 3: mixed vernacular Arabic and Berber)

Arabic sintagms, borrowed as such :
- *‘ašrîn yawman* “20 days” (l. 4: numeral over 10 + noun in singular)
- *rak‘atâni* “2 bowings” (l. 18, twice: Arabic dual)

Numeral + noun in singular, without state syllable
uqqez yur “four months” (l. 21).

Numeral + noun in singular, without state syllable
f. 21a, l. 4 : *sen γil* “two cubits”
f. 133b, l. 18 *sen yur* “two months”
f. 190(2)b, l. 14 : *careḍ lγem* “three camels”
f. 116a, l. 17 : *uqqez yur* “fout months”
f. 52a, l. 17 : *semmes ḏrim* “five dirhams”
f. 190(2)b, l. 15-16 : *semmes lγem* “five camels”
f. 323b, l. 21 : *semmes menkuc* “five dinars”
f. 133b, l. 17 *ḍza yur* ; 98b, l. 3 : *zaz yur* “six months”
f. 190(2)b, l. 17 : *sa lγem* “seven camels”
f. 50a, l. 1 : *tam yur* “eight months”
f. 98b, l. 7 : *tis yur* “nine months”
f. 306a, l. 22 : *mraw menkuc* “ten dinars”

plural after high numbers
f. 131a, l. 13 : *ifeḍ en wulli* = ’alfu ghanam “1000 sheep”

after the counted object or isolated (determined)
f. 201b, l. 3 et 270a, l. 20 et 22 : *n wuḏmawen-din ayarḍ-in* = al-ṯalâṯa
f. 304a, l. 3 et 8 : *tayarḍ-in* (tyrḍîn) = al-ṯalâṯa ; f. 304a, l. 12 : *ayarḍ-in* (’yr°ḍyn) = al-ṯalâṯa

no concord
f. 54b, 22 : *careḍ tikkal* “three times”
f. 315b, 4 : *al careḍ tikkal* “up to three times”

f. 185a, l. 14 et 15 : *semmes tmaḍ* “five hundred”

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